

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 CAIRO 08526

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MOPS, LE
SUBJECT: SOUTH LEBANON

REF: (A) STATE 67496, (B) CAIRO 8384

SUMMARY: CONVEYED CONTENTS REF A TO KAMEL FOR FORWARDING TO SADAT. KAMEL, WHO BECAME INCREASINGLY EMOTIONAL, WAS DISAPPOINTED. HE CONTENDED ISRAELI INVASION IS TYPICAL OF BEGIN'S STYLE AND IS PROMPTED BY ISRAELI DESIRE FOR EXPANSION. OUR FAILURE ISSUE PUBLIC STATEMENT CONDEMNING INVASION AND DEMANDING IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL IS EMBARRASSING TO SADAT AND DAMAGING TO PEACE PROCESS. PLO IS LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND ALL ARABS, EGYPTIANS INCLUDED, SUPPORT CONCEPT OF LIBERATING OCCUPIED WEST BANK AND SINAI TERRITORIES. IF ISRAEL HAD RECOGNIZED LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF PALESTINIANS, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN NO TERRORIST INCIDENT. ISRAELI "SECURITY BELT" DEMAND UNACCEPTABLE. ISRAELI INVASION AND OUR SILENCE COMPLICATES PEACE PROCESS. HE DID NOT SEE HOW IN PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES ASWAN LANGUAGE COULD BE ACCEPTABLE. REFERRING TO SADAT'S PUBLIC CONDEMNING OF TERRORIST INCIDENT, MADE ON OUR URGING, HE REPEATEDLY PLEADED FOR SIMILAR PUBLIC STATEMENT ON OUR PART TO HELP SADAT AT THIS JUNCTURE. I EMPHASIZED WE HAVE FROM THE OUTSET URGED ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW ASAP AND SECRET

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CONTINUE TO DO SO. ISRAELIS HAVE ASSURED US THEY DO NOT INTEND TO STAY, BUT WANT SUITABLE ARRANGEMENTS TO PREVENT PALESTINIANS FROM RETURNING TO SOUTH LEBANON. I HOPED OUR EGYPTIAN FRIENDS WILL TAKE OUR EFFORTS IN GOOD FAITH AND BE PREPARED WORK WITH US SO THAT PEACE PROCESS CAN CONTINUE. END SUMMARY.

1. ALTHOUGH REFTEL REQUESTS THAT INFO CONTAINED THEREIN

BE CONVEYED TO SADAT, I COULD CLEARLY NOT IGNORE FONMIN KAMEL IN PROCESS, ESPECIALLY SINCE IT WAS HE WHO MADE LAST NIGHT'S DEMARCHE TO US (REF B). HENCE, I MET WITH KAMEL FOR AN HOUR TODAY TO DISCUSS SOUTH LEBANON. HIS CHEF DE CABINET, AHMED MAHER, WAS WITH HIM. I ASKED THAT MY COMMENTS BE REPORTED SOONEST TO SADAT AND INDICATED MY READINESS MEET WITH THE PRESIDENT AT ANY TIME CONVENIENT TO HIM IF HE WISHED TO DISCUSS SUBJECT WITH ME. I THEN WENT THROUGH ALL THE POINTS MADE REFTEL. MAHER TOOK EXTENSIVE NOTES FOR REPORT TO BE SENT TO SADAT.

2. KAMEL, WHO WAS IN REASONABLY GOOD SPIRITS WHEN I CAME IN, BECAME INCREASINGLY GLOOMY AS I WENT ALONG. AT THE END OF MY PRESENTATION, HE SAID HIS FIRST IMPRESSION WAS ONE OF DISAPPOINTMENT AND BEGAN A LONG MONOLOGUE. WE ARE PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF THE SOVIETS. FAILURE OF USG TO BE WILLING TO MAKE A STATEMENT CONDEMNING ISRAEL, AS SADAT HAD DONE ON OUR URGING ON THE TERRORIST INCIDENT, IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY EMBARRASSING TO THE PRESIDENT AND TO GOE. THE LEAST THAT WE COULD HAVE DONE, AS KAMEL SAW IT, WAS TO ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT CLEARLY AND DECISIVELY DEMANDING THAT ISRAEL WITHDRAW FROM SOUTH LEBANON AT ONCE. ISRAELIS, HE CHARGED, HAVE INDISCRIMINATELY KILLED PALESTINIANS AND LEBANESE ALIKE. AMERICAN SUPPLIED AIRCRAFT AND WEAPONS HAVE BEEN USED FOR THIS PURPOSE. THIS KIND OF RETALIATION IS IN TYPICAL

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BEGIN STYLE. PREVIOUS ISRAELI GOVTS HAVE RETALIATED, BUT NEVER TO THIS EXTENT.

3. NOW, KAMEL CLAIMED, BEGIN IS SAYING THAT HE IS IN SOUTH LEBANON TO STAY. IN FACT, BEGIN EVEN VISITED SOUTH LEBANON AREA. THIS WAS A HIGHLY POLITICAL ACT INDICATING AN INTENTION TO REMAIN. BEGIN'S "SECURITY BELT" IDEA, KAMEL CHARGED, IS CONSISTENT WITH HIS EXPANSIONIST DESIGNS. BEGIN IS DOING THESE THINGS WITHOUT ANY CONSIDERATION OF THE FACT THAT SADAT WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE RECENT TERRORIST INCIDENT. THE ISRAELI ACTION, KAMEL ASSERTED, IS PLAYING WITH DYNAMITE IN MIDDLE EAST AREA AND OUR SILENCE IS NOT HELPING ONE BIT.

4. NEITHER THE ISRAELIS NOR WE, KAMEL STATED, SEEM TO REALIZE THAT THE PLO IS A LIBERATION MOVEMENT. ALL ARABS, EGYPTIANS INCLUDED, WANT THE LIBERATION OF THE WEST BANK, GAZA AND SINAI. IF THE ISRAELIS HAD RECOGNIZED THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIANS, THERE WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN A TERRORIST INCIDENT. NOW THE ISRAELIS ARE CLEARLY SEEKING A PRETEXT TO EXTERMINATE THE PALESTINIANS.

WHATEVER THE ARABS MAY THINK OF THE PALESTINIANS, THIS
THEY CANNOT ALLOW.

5. NOTING THAT THIS IS THIRD DAY SINCE ISRAELI INVASION
BEGAN, KAMEL BELITTLED OUR IDEA OF SEEKING "EARLY
WITHDRAWAL." THIS COULD MEAN WEEKS OR MONTHS, HE ARGUED,
WHEN SITUATION CALLS FOR ISRAELI REMOVAL WITHIN HOURS.
USG SHOULD BE DEMANDING IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL AS THE

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 03 CAIRO 08526

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SOVIETS HAVE DONE AND AS ALL ARAB STATES, INCLUDING
EGYPT, WILL DO. HE WISHED TO APPEAL TO US AGAIN, IN
CONTEXT OUR RELATIONSHIPS, TO ISSUE A STRONG PUBLIC
STATEMENT CONDEMNING ISRAELI INVASION, DEPLORING LOSS
OF INNOCENT LIVES AND DEMANDING IMMEDIATE ISRAELI WITH-
DRAWAL.

6. THREE ARAB STATES ARE ALREADY OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL,
KAMEL LAMENTED, AND NOW THERE IS A FOURTH. ALL THIS
IMMEASURABLY COMPLICATES THE PEACE PROCESS. BECOMING
INCREASINGLY EMOTIONAL, KAMEL CLAIMED THE ISRAELIS HAVE
RETALIATED FOR THE TERRORIST INCIDENT A "THOUSAND TIMES."
THEIR IDEA OF A "SECURITY BELT," WHICH HE VIEWED AS A
THINLY DISGUISED EFFORT TO REMAIN IN SOUTH LEBANON, IS
UNACCEPTABLE. IF USG WANTS TO ASSIST GOE, KAMEL
REITERATED, IT SHOULD PUBLICLY DEMAND IMMEDIATE ISRAELI
WITHDRAWAL. DINITZ'S IDEA, AS EXPRESSED TO AMERICAN
PRESS, THAT USG SIMPLY HELP ISRAEL TO WORK OUT "ARRANGE-
MENTS" FOR SOUTH LEBANON IS UNACCEPTABLE TO GOE AND
ARABS. THE LONGER ISRAELIS ARE IN SOUTH LEBANON, THE
MORE TIME THEY WILL HAVE TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR OCCUPATION
OF THAT AREA. HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY USG HAD NEVER

EVEN ASKED ISRAEL TO STOP THE FIGHTING AND KILLING. DID WE NOT UNDERSTAND HOW EMBARRASSING THIS FAILURE IS TO GOE? "PEOPLE" ARE SAYING THAT, AS FAR AS USG IS CONCERNED,

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JEWISH BLOOD MEANS MORE THAN ARAB BLOOD. OUR SILENCE ON ISRAELI INVASION, AFTER CONDEMNING LAST SATURDAY'S TERRORIST INCIDENT, LENDS CREDENCE TO THIS VIEW.

7. THE ISRAELIS HAVE LONG HARBORED EXPANSIONIST AMBITIONS IN SOUTH LEBANON, KAMEL CLAIMED. IT WAS AFTER ALL THE ISRAELIS WHO STOPPED THE ADF FROM DEPLOYING TO SOUTH LEBANON. HAD THE ADF BEEN PERMITTED INTO SOUTH LEBANON, THE TERRORIST INCIDENT WOULD NEVER HAVE HAPPENED. THE ISRAELI INVASION IS NOTHING LESS THAN EXPANSIONISM AND AT THE VERY LEAST IS AN EFFORT TO PRESSURE THE ARABS ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. WE ARE NOT GOING TO BARGAIN WITH BEGIN, KAMEL STATED FORCEFULLY, ABOUT THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THE ISRAELIS MUST GET OUT IN ACCORDANCE WITH U.N. RESOLUTION 242 AND OTHER RESOLUTIONS.

8. FOR THE UMPTEENTH TIME IN HIS LONG MONOLOGUE, KAMEL APPEALED THAT WE SHOULD COME OUT PUBLICLY WITH A STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE ISRAELI INVASION AND DEMANDING IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL. HE ASKED HOW, IN VIEW OF OUR SILENCE, DO WE IMAGINE WE AND SADAT LOOK IN THE EYES OF THE ARAB WORLD. EGYPT HAD PUT ALL ITS HOPES IN THE UNITED STATES AND SADAT HAD CHALLENGED THE ARABS AND THE NON-ALIGNED AND STRAINED EGYPTIAN/SOVIET RELATIONS. NOW, WHEN GOE NEEDS AN OPEN, PUBLIC STATEMENT FROM USG, SADAT IS NOT GETTING IT.

9. OF COURSE, EGYPT WOULD LIKE THE PEACE PROCESS TO CONTINUE, KAMEL SAID. GOE WILL BE OBLIGED, HOWEVER, TO ESCALATE ITS DEMANDS. HE PERSONALLY DID NOT SEE HOW EGYPT CAN NOW ACCEPT, AFTER THE ISRAELI KILLING OF PALESTINIANS, THE ASWAN LANGUAGE. GOE HAD HOPED THAT U.S. WOULD PUT GREAT PRESSURE ON BEGIN DURING WASHINGTON

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VISIT ABOUT OUTSTANDING ISSUES SUCH AS WITHDRAWAL FROM WEST BANK/GAZA, SETTLEMENTS AND PALESTINIAN HOMELAND. NOW TOTAL FOCUS OF VISIT IS LIKELY TO BE ON SOUTH LEBANON. USG MAY THEN BE ABLE TO SAY IT SUCCEEDED IN GETTING ISRAEL OUT OF LEBANON, BUT THE OTHER UNRESOLVED ISSUES WILL HAVE TO WAIT ANOTHER TWENTY YEARS. THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF THE

ISRAELI INVASION IS NOT RETALIATION, HE REPEATED, BUT DELIBERATE AGGRESSION IN LEBANON TO OBTAIN MORE ARAB CONCESSIONS. HE OPINED THAT IT COULD BE FATAL TO THE PEACE PROCESS.

10. I TRIED SEVERAL TIMES TO INTERRUPT KAMEL'S EMOTIONAL MONOLOGUE, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS. WHEN HE HAD FINALLY FINISHED, I AGAIN ASSURED HIM THAT PRESIDENT CARTER AND THE SECRETARY ARE MINDFUL OF GOE'S CONCERNs. USG SHARES GOE'S BELIEF THAT ISRAEL SHOULD GET OUT OF LEBANON ASAP. IT HAS FROM THE OUTSET OF THE ISRAELI OPERATION MADE THIS CLEAR AND CONTINUES TO DO SO. ISRAELIS HAVE ASSURED US THAT THEY DO NOT INTEND TO STAY, BUT SIMPLY WANT ASSURANCES THAT PALESTINIAN GUERRILLAS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO RETURN TO SOUTH LEBANON. (KAMEL POOH-POOCHED SUCH ISRAELI ASSURANCES.) FOR REASONS THAT I HAD INDICATED IN MY PRESENTATION, WE BELIEVE THAT PUBLIC STATEMENT AT THIS TIME COULD ONLY COMPLICATE OUR HIGH PRIORITY OBJECTIVE OF GETTING ISRAEL OUT. I ALSO WISHED TO ASSURE HIM THAT WE DEPLORE THE LOSS OF INNOCENT ARAB LIVES AS MUCH AS WE DO ISRAELI LIVES. I HOPED OUR EGYPTIAN FRIENDS WOULD TAKE OUR EFFORTS IN GOOD FAITH AND BE PREPARED TO WORK WITH US. AS I HAD SAID, WE ARE ANXIOUS TO LIMIT THE DAMAGE THE TERRORIST INCIDENT AND THE ISRAELI INVASION OF SOUTH

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LEBANON COULD HAVE ON THE PEACE PROCESS AND COUNT UPON PRESIDENT SADAT AND KAMEL TO HELP IN THIS. WE WILL WANT TO CONTINUE TO BE IN CLOSE TOUCH IN NEXT FEW DAYS.

11. WHILE KAMEL ACCEPTED MY COMMENTS, HE WAS CLEARLY IN A BAD WAY. HE PLEADED WITH ME TO URGE WASHINGTON ONCE

MORE TO ISSUE SOME SORT OF PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT WILL ASSIST GOE IN FACE OF WHAT HE CALLED GROWING DOMESTIC AND ARAB CRITICISM OF SADAT FOR LATTER'S WILLINGNESS WORK WITH US. WE SHOULD UNDERSTAND SADAT'S DILEMMA, HE REPEATEDLY ASSERTED, AND ALSO TAKE IT, NOT ONLY ISRAELI VIEWS, INTO ACCOUNT IN DETERMINING OUR ACTIONS. HE FEARED THAT WE ARE TAKING SADAT AND GOE TOO MUCH FOR GRANTED. I ASSURED HIM WE ARE AS CONCERNED WITH SUPPORTING SADAT AS WE ARE WITH TRYING TO COPE WITH ISRAELI WORRIES AND THAT I WOULD OF COURSE REPORT HIS REMARKS AT ONCE.

12. COMMENT: I RECOGNIZE RATIONALE FOR OUR RELUCTANCE ISSUE PUBLIC STATEMENT, BUT KAMEL IS RIGHT THAT OUR SILENCE IS CREATING PUZZLEMENT HERE AND GROWING CRITICISM. NOW THAT FIGHTING HAS APPARENTLY CEASED, I WOULD HOPE WE COULD ISSUE SOME KIND OF A PUBLIC STATEMENT WHICH AT THE VERY LEAST DEPLORES LOSS OF HUMAN LIFE ON BOTH SIDES, CALLS FOR QUICKEST POSSIBLE ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM

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SOUTH LEBANON AND STATES OUR INTENTION TO WORK FOR THIS. WHILE THIS WILL ONLY PARTIALLY HELP HERE, SINCE IT WILL NOT CONTAIN CONDEMNATORY LANGUAGE AS SADAT'S STATEMENT DID, IT WILL HAVE SOME DAMAGE LIMITING EFFECT. EILTS

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